/579 cont./

225 a fire was soon made on the spot, some strips of blubber frizzled thereon, and eaten with a gusto. Canoes from all directions soon made their appearance, and a sorry time of it had our poor fellows, for whilst a bit of whale remained to be obtained by coaxing, importunity, or bullying, not a woman would stur /sic/ to get a mussel. The little wood adjacent became the midnight resort of wandering spirits, who turned up [in] all suspicious-looking places in the little stream, often alighting upon some cautiously concealed blubber, much to the loss and sorrow of the owners who had deposited it there for safety, and preservation from corruption" /cited in English/ (MM:IV, 34;1872). This shows the bustling general activity of the people gathered round the sea monster, for it furnishes the raw material for many useful things.

Until the most recent times a stranded whale was a great attraction for all the natives. On July 19, 1902, Williams (MM: XXVI, 277) wrote: "A little time ago a whale was found on the beach in Cunna-voosh, and as soon as the news reached Tekenika about thirty left for /580/ a feast. Most of them returned in seven or eight days" /cited in English/. Since then it has not become known that a dead or sick whale was stranded in the area inhabited by the Yamana. This has been a real loss which they bitterly lament.

225 •431 577 Quite different from all this is the procedure of a man who occasionally dissects and distributes a large seal. Anyone who has been favored with success in the hunt takes the booty intact to his hut. Here he immediately skins it (p. 68). If it is a particularly large animal, perhaps a bear seal, tēpē'a (Arctocephalus australis), or an elephant seal, hā'axuwa (Macrorhinus leoninus), he usually summons two other men and says: "Here is the seal, divide it among us all!" With these words he hands over, as it were, to the community of all the families who happen to be there the fresh carcass of the animal and relinquishes his personal right of disposal. These men cut up the booty into several large pieces, according to the number of huts, and send them off. The hunter is scarcely favored, but nevertheless he shows himself satisfied with what he gets, just like any of the others. Social considerations for the group as a whole have created this habit which we shall discuss later in this book.

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Although it involves only a moral obligation, no one can actually avoid it in the long run. It also applies to less important things. For example, in the case of a small sea lion, either ẍma (Otaria jubata) or lēfkeẍma (Otaria falklandica), the successful hunter drags it in front of his own hut and cuts it up himself into several pieces. Now it is the duty of the woman to share it with other families. She counts the women who live next to her and brings each one a good piece of meat, even if she should have no more left over for her own family than what she gave each of the others. Sometimes she goes empty-handed when there are many who expect a gift from her. To give away inferior parts or to keep conspicuous amounts for herself would arouse a harsh suspicion of selfishness. It seems that in former times every hunter would bring a guanaco whole back to his hut and only then dissect it. His wife took over the task of distributing the individual pieces (352).

352. Only Aspinall:270 reports: "Anyone fortunate enough to kill a guanaco must give certain parts to relatives and friends, and this is always done very willingly." It would be more accurate to say that the neighbors, whoever they happen to be, are, without discrimination, presented with a decent piece of meat.

This duty to let others share in one's own success also applies to the things that the women and girls have gathered. If they bring home fungi and berries, mussels and snails, crabs and fish in their little baskets, they immediately make gifts to all the women. A person who gets sea birds or birds' eggs divides them equally. Thus, no one keeps for himself everything he has hunted or gathered, and everyone strives to fulfill this universally applicable duty. The pieces to be distributed are given to the neighboring families according to certain rules which we shall discuss later.

/592 cont./

264 by no means only a few tidbits; it is almost always a considerable amount, so that the total during a single day is astonishingly large. Every observer will agree with the words of Spegazzini (a):171: "These people have no set time for eating; they eat all day, they eat whenever and whatever they please, and according to what I saw, they eat a great deal" /translated from Spanish/. As we have said, at any one time they take liquid blubber, kun, in only small quantities, but all the more frequently: /593/ a man or woman will sometimes empty a blubber sausage ten centimeters [431] long in one draught (378). Visitors like to bring it along as a present.

[267] 378. Hyades (f):564 mentions: "They are likewise fond of the oil of the liver of morne, but always small quantities at a time" /translated from French/.

With the exception of mornings and evenings, everyone begins to eat whenever he feels like it. This is the general custom. One is more likely to be stimulated if he sees someone else chewing and he will join him. There is never much preparation involved. A person will reach into a basket of mussels or will tear off a piece of meat from a sea lion or a bird hanging on a beech tree in front of the hut and place it on the fire. Everyone helps himself, and whatever supplies are in the hut are at everyone's disposal (379).

379. The words of Hyades (p):328 that "women and children eat with the men" /translated from French/ do not mean anything.

Everyone acts as though it were completely taken for granted and not a disturbance to his neighbor if he moves near the fire at night and satisfies his appetite undisturbed. The only rule generally [575] observed is that in the morning before the first bite is taken one rinses out his mouth with cold water and spits it out again. Most people are more particular about this than about daily morning ablutions. While the individual pieces are roasting in the fire, everyone watches them attentively, turns them often and meanwhile increases his appetite. He tests them with his fingers or

/641 cont./

on the alert. It is also simply inconceivable that a girl should be forced into a marital union with a boy who does not like her. She would be adequately protected against coercion by his relatives. Every adult knows very well that a woman who no longer cares for her husband -- she previously joined herself to him in the free choice of love -- leaves him and will not be chained to him by any means. It is true that sometimes female relatives direct the attention of the girl to a particular chap who, in their opinion, would be suitable for her, but they do not dare press her.

What incorrectly informed Europeans call "payments" are actually voluntary gifts which the bridegroom or son-in-law gives the father of his chosen one from a sense of courtesy and gratitude, joy and satisfaction. This custom belongs in the category of obligations of the son-in-law toward his father-in-law. It is natural that the former makes an effort to learn indirectly the special wishes of the latter and to consider them as far as possible. To speak of a definite price range and standard of value of these free gifts is altogether false. Prominent, wealthy, or mighty families who are able to make certain demands for the marriage of their child do not exist among the Yamana, nor is personal competence or the individual qualities of a marriageable young man weighed against material values. If a chap makes extraordinary efforts to win the girl and finally succeeds because she yields, it is quite in order for him to make lavish gifts to her parents.

As long as this custom exists, it is taken for granted that the father of the girl expects something from his future son-in-law (17).

17. To this extent Stirling's assertion of March, 1864, is justified: "The father of the future bride expects ransom-money. On this occasion, an axe, a blanket, a knife, some fishhooks, bradi, etc., form part of the price. Sometimes the future son-in-law serves for a period, I believe, the father of the betrothed, or presents a canoe, etc." /cited in English/ (VSA: XI, 239;1864). A commercial pact, such as Spegazzini (a):165 describes, is never made.

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583 584 431 This, according to Outes (g):54, includes either knives, harpoon points, and finished weapons, or skins and flint, sometimes even a new canoe. Neither the son-in-law nor the father-in-law regards such things as an actual purchase price for the delivery of the marriageable girl, for there is never any mention of this when the chap makes inquiries of the father of his beloved.

I was emphatically assured that sometimes special gifts were not given the parents of the girl, either during the courtship /642/ or at the marriage, and some men do not bring more than a large sea lion. After Alejandro finally won the long-wooed Elisa (p. 390), he did not give her parents the least little thing. Her mother, Adelheid, somewhat disappointed over this behavior of her present son-in-law, told me: "Alejandro is a fop; he acts as though he were a European and does not know what used to be customary among us Yamana." In the end, how could insignificant trifles compare with the fact that a girl is willing to give herself to a husband (18)!

> 18. The following assertion in Outes (g):55 definitely shows the impossibility of the conditions which he describes: "If the gift is not enough, the father returns in a few months and takes back the woman, selling her to someone else. If the husband is displeased with his wife, he can send her back to her father, who must return the purchase price" /translated from Spanish/. We come across similar discrepancies among other Europeans who never became properly acquainted with procedures in Tierra del Fuego.

It is equally incorrect to speak of "dowry" in connection with those insignificant possessions that the young woman takes when she goes to her husband. Certain things, such as clothing and ornaments, simply belong inseparably to her, whether she is married or not, and this private property is not in the least augmented when she leaves the parental hut and goes to her chosen bridegroom. Bove (e):158 writes: "A canoe and a harpoon are

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583 the bride's dowry." This interpretation is meaningless. The
584 canoe, without which a young married couple cannot exist, is
431 usually built by the husband himself, or by his own father or neighbors with the young man's help. Possibly the father of the bride also took part in its construction. The harpoon is part of the equipment of a man and is neither used by a woman nor given by her to a man.

583 In some of the literature, mention is made of abduction, but specific examples or cases that have been observed are not cited. Despard (b):698 maintained: "Sometimes wives are stolen, sometimes they run away. When recovered, after either case, they are beaten, the supposition being, it seems, that in the former case they themselves encouraged the theft" /cited in English/. The qualification mentioned is significant and is immediately put to account. Hyades (p):334 states briefly that "one sometimes observes a marriage by capture" /translated from French/ (19). The way of life and the position of a marriageable

19. It is not likely that the Mission Scientifique observed the procedure of an abduction. The same Hyades (b):1346 expresses himself in another place more vaguely, "sometimes there is marriage by capture" /translated from French/.

girl within her family absolutely contradicts all false assertions, for it is simply impossible to abduct a woman. It is true that
837 sometimes a married woman who wishes secretly to leave her husband accepts the help of a man whom she knows well in order to escape. If, however, she chooses this expedient, namely, flight under the protection of a man, it is her own decision. Moreover, it can happen that a married woman yields to persuasion and /643/ follows her seducer for a few days, after which she returns to her rightful husband. Neither case has anything to do with abduction. BD:227 gives kwiságuntíkil, "to take by force another man's wife and marry her as a wife" /cited in English/; also BD:303, manáguil, "to escape as a wife from her husband by stealth" /cited in English/. The proper meaning here,

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836 parents who themselves often transgress against sexual morality
867 are careful to give irreproachable guidance to their children.

Despite all vigilance, a certain amount of improper con-
936 duct among young people cannot be avoided, and some girls lose their physical intactness (94). The Yamana do not know the

94. On this subject Hyades (q):188 expresses himself thus: "In fact, the young girls of ten to 12 years whom we examined had already lost it. But this does not imply a precocious perversion on their part nor a great ardor for sexual relations" /translated from French/.

meaning of this in the European sense, and only with this restriction may we interpret Hyades' (b):1346 and (q):188 words: "There is no value placed /687/ on a young girl's virginity" /translated from French/ (95). A reserved, virtuous girl enjoys

95. Hahn (a):805 uses the same words and unjustifiably concludes from this: "Modesty is completely unknown among the Fuegians" /translated from French/. The secret mistakes of a few children, despite the serious warnings and great vigilance of all adults, are no proof that modesty is lacking among all the people.

a good reputation; adults keep a particularly sharp eye on an impertinent young chap. Finally, a thoughtful boy will not
[587] readily offer his hand in marriage to a girl whose behavior is conspicuously bold; he lacks confidence in her fidelity later.

A few effective protective measures for special occasions
934 have been set up, apparently in order that neither of the two sexes, despite their duty to render reciprocal aid, will run the risk of violating conjugal fidelity. These measures have to do with the exchange of gifts between a man and woman who are

/587 cont./

831 834 fond of each other and wish to strengthen their affection through such attentions. It is well known that a successful hunter will have his wife give neighboring families large pieces of his booty. She gives the pieces of meat directly to the other women who use it for their respective families.

A man resorts to the same indirect procedure if he wants to avoid any kind of suspicion and yet please some married woman who is devoted to him by giving her a gift. If he knows that she likes to eat some special kinds of fungi, he gladly takes the trouble on his wanderings to gather a few in a leather bag. He goes to the hut of his friend and empties the bag in front of her husband, letting him know by a look or sign: "These fungi are meant chiefly for your wife!" She, too, knows what her taciturn friend particularly likes, and she lets him know her feelings by means of a suitable gift. For example, in order to avoid malicious gossip, she makes blood sausage or blubber sausage, if he is fond of it, and brings it to the wife of her friend with the remark: "I give this sausage to your husband!" He, too, hears her brief words -- as intended -- which tell him everything that her feelings and sentiments have put into the remark. In order to be still less conspicuous, a man will send a small present to his friend through his own wife, and a woman will send hers through her husband. The recipient knows full well what it means. In this way the two friends publicly announce that their relations are harmless, and usually this is the case. A person having an intimate relationship does not wish to call attention to himself and the favored individual, even by means of such admissible demonstrations of love. He will wisely avoid doing so.

This "roundabout giving," as I should like to call it, is by no means regarded as especially strict and exclusive. In case a man meets a single woman somewhere, he may give her a sizable piece of his booty right on the spot, all the more if her dwelling /588/ is far distant from his. The measure just described shows every outsider that our Tatsans consider it necessary to fortify conjugal fidelity with external props, so that transgressions do not increase still more.

583 In most marriages of our Punglans, the two partners have had and still have a pleasant, happy, and, after some years, balanced

/887 cont./
children should be particularly zealous about getting up early in the morning. To die young is generally regarded as a punishment for laziness or for some other misdeed that a person has been guilty of. Thus, one who wants to attain a great age carefully obeys everything that has been lawfully valid among the Yamana from time immemorial.

If the references to personal honor and to the worst of all punishments have the effect of actual threats, the following rules of conduct emphasize the strictness of duty for objective reasons. Foremost is the reference to indiscriminate helpfulness. Everyone must, so to speak, render voluntary service to all others and must seize the first opportunity for performing services and favors of all kinds. This altruistic duty is not adequately fulfilled by gifts and presents. actions and work are also demanded. The candidates are definitely told that they should keep their eyes open and be on the lookout for every opportunity to be of service to others. These opportunities /888/ occur every day. They should seize them without being asked, that is to say, out of inner willingness. A person who needs something almost never asks for it.

To this category also belong the suppression of one's own desires in favor of others, the relinquishing of personal advantage, and the sacrifice of one's own comfort. The individual should be ready to perform voluntarily services first of all out of consideration for himself, for in this way he makes others indebted to him, and they, out of a sense of justice, will repay him in like manner and will help him. Here the principle of self-love shines through again! It is extremely prominent that every friendly service for others is supposed to be performed quite inconspicuously and quietly, as though taken for granted or as though this properly belonged to the daily round of duty. In my long association with the Yamana I had almost daily demonstrations of this.

The inner value of this attitude, which, in itself, is praiseworthy, is considerably increased by complete unselfishness. To give gifts to others without expecting anything for oneself, to invite others to a meal, to give others of one's booty, all this is part of the true Yamana. Anything that anyone needs and would like to borrow should be given to him without fuss. No one expects a reward for work he has performed for kindness one neighbors.

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Y 86 | into the adult circle. The ʔíɣaxu hut is thoroughly cleaned and decorated; the color on the ornamental plaques and sticks, as well as on the long leather strap, ʔíkesa, is touched up; everyone present arranges his own ornaments and paints himself carefully. In the rear of the Great Hut a curtain of sea-lion skins is hung, just as on the occasion of visits (p. 821), and the candidates immediately seat themselves behind it. Soon afterwards, notified by the winefkesa, there is a gathering here of the people who had remained behind in the camp almost entirely throughout the ʔíɣaxu celebration. They, too, appear with extraordinarily beautiful facial painting and are equipped with the hapaxél and dance staff.

A particularly solemn moment is at hand. All the adults very gravely squat in their places, and the uninterrupted singing by some one person sounds noticeably moved. At the direction of the leader a middle-aged man goes behind the curtain and bids the ulwʔála to follow him. They arrange themselves in single file, [535] headed by the man. With short, mincing steps, holding their dance staffs horizontally /950/ and lifting them up and down in a circular motion, they dance back and forth through the long hut several times. Meanwhile all the adults take part in the singing. Finally the row of youthful dancers stops in the middle of the room. Their leader now accompanies one ulwʔála after another to his respective sponsor. The sponsor, without getting up, takes his hétakuxʔélan by the hand, moves slightly to one side, and invites him to sit down beside him. This act is regarded as a formal presentation of the ward to his sponsor and as an adoption of the young people into the adult group. The ulwʔála is herewith declared a full-fledged member of the tribe. On this occasion everyone present is gripped with [152] strong emotion. They cannot hold back tears of sentiment at the happiness of the sponsors and their adopted children. They quite rightly see in this solemn act the climax of the entire youth initiation, for in the latter, as we know, maturing young people are to become full-fledged tribal associates. At the same time this also publicly and forever seals the spiritual kinship between the sponsors [608] and their wards, hétakuxʔélan. Occasionally at this time, but usually not until the great feast, the ward receives from his sponsor • [431] a special gift consisting of three items.

/982 cont./
X881 the ulwáala, surrounded by their sponsors, also shuffle through the exit into the open. This is the informal but actual farewell to the číkaxar hut.

Outside they all sit down beside the big fire, and soon small talk begins, quietly and in short sentences at first because they are no longer accustomed to a running conversation, then animatedly and joyfully excited. Everyone eagerly helps himself and enjoys the freshly roasted meat, although many a person who is excessively weakened endangers himself by overeating. As time goes on, the people mix more and more enthusiastically, for one seeks out another and wants to tell or ask about all kinds of things.

/983/ At this great dinner the candidates are required to serve older persons without pause. They offer first one and then another a freshly roasted piece of meat or a handful of mussels. They pass along the irregular rows of the company and distribute on all sides whatever they have in their hands. The adults are pleased with the industriousness of the ulwáala and exchange /Fig. 87 appears here/ opinions about the success and the prospects of one or another. All the inmates of the dwellings who have not spent the night in the číkaxar hut have, of course, also arrived beside the big fire. They are particularly affected by the sight of the emaciated and weak candidates: they discuss the many deprivations and the long fasting that the candidates have, after all, survived. The candidates cannot arouse themselves to fresh cheerfulness and unconstrained gaiety, for the trials which their weak bodies were obliged to endure for many long weeks were too difficult.

X881 The so-called sponsors are overjoyed, for during the long
608 period of the číkaxar trial they have successfully led their
431 hákuxwalan to the goal. They talk a great deal with other adults
about their protégé, and in detail with the parents. According to
F443 ancient custom, they give their protégé the tube-shaped bird bone
B437 émbalim (tbelim), through which, day after day, he has sucked
X881 sparse amounts of drinking water from a mussel shell. He also re-
608 ceives a rather short carved stick, about 12 centimeters long and
431 pointed at the end, with a shallow groove carved around the top.
515 A tendon is wound around the groove and likewise around the upper end of the sucking tube, and both articles are joined with a string of tendon which is placed around the neck of the candidate (Fig. 87).

/963 cont./

He is always supposed to have on hand, above all, the little stick of wood, tamiyáki, since he uses it to scratch the lice-bites on his head. It is said that young people should regularly use this little stick after their dismissal from the Kína hut, if they used their fingernails, the latter would become brittle. If the tamiyaki is lost or wears out, the young fellow or girl can make one, if the sponsor does not happen to offer a new one. There is no definite limit as to the length of time the young people must use the little scratching stick; sooner or later, however, they simply ignore it.

Fig. 87. Small Sucking Tube and Small Scratching Stick. One-half natural size.

/964/ A third and final gift of less significance than the two just mentioned, which only the female sponsor presents to her hináiuyeglan, is a pretty, dainty little basket made of rushes and specially decorated along the upper edge with a wreath of feathers. It is filled with ripe berries of Pernettya mucronata (Fig. 12 /in unmodulated portion/).

The ward receives these three items as mementos. They are first of all supposed to remind him of the male and female sponsor, but even more, of the teachings and admonitions of the Kína celebration. With a certain pride the ward is shown each of his acquaintances this certification of his successful initiation. Thus he publicly shows that he now lawfully belongs to the group of adults.

For hours the people squat around the fire and enjoy the abundant meal. Gradually they feel a desire for games. Once a beginning has been made, one game follows another. Real

/971 cont./

422 everyone has his own right to whatever serves for the support and
573 sustenance of family members and he may be deprived of nothing.
Thus the husband or wife does not work for himself alone in obtaining food.

422 The little supplementary word "ā" clearly emphasizes the
573 urgent concern for all the members of the family to hunt and gather
182 simultaneously and without exception. BD:379 mana: "vā [a] used by one person to another in giving any orders or expressing their desires and conveys a sense of mutual interest and ownership, or rather right to the results of what is done or obtained. ā tākū mamāgi kwa, go and get us some fuel, for the common good. ā ōyajan kwaf (a man to his wife)come, get us some mussels" /cited in English/.

422 Every occupant has access to everything in the dwelling in
573 the way of foodstuffs, although in many cases the wife and mother
244 puts the roast or the mussels on the fire in response to the wish of
576 the husband or children. Guests and visitors, however, wait for a special invitation before reaching out for food, and this difference in behavior should be clearly emphasized.

431 Among themselves the Yamana are pledged to mutual aid;
432 hence everyone generously shares with his neighbors the things he
573 brings home. This does not alter the fact that sometimes a family saves larger pieces and more delectable bits for its members. Even during the distribution of booty among others the joint procedure of the two spouses is in evidence. While the man cuts up a sea lion, for example, the wife will decide on some piece for this or that family, at the same time anticipating their tacit agreement. To show favoritism toward dear relatives and intimate acquaintances is, after all, a common human trait from which our Fuegians, too, are not exempt. If the husband or the wife is for any reason prevented from hunting for food, it is the duty of the other partner to be twice as active to provide enough so that no member of the family suffers harm. If a neighbor must be supported because he is ill or /979/ has lost his weapons, the woman takes him more food than is customary, but only after discussing it with her husband, inasmuch as she feels that she alone is not entitled to dispose of what the man brought to the family but from his hunting or she herself from her gathering, which should serve the whole family.

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Nevertheless this does not entirely deny a person a certain prerogative over whatever he has brought in, and a completely equal right to it in the communistic sense is never granted to the members of the family (385).

385. This opinion is clearly expressed in RD:319 in the explanation of the verb *mikabaku: To take or make use of what is not one's own but yet is proper to take or use, as for instance a husband his wife's fish, or a brother, if hungry, fish belonging to a brother or sister during their absence, though when he saw them he would tell them what he had done" /cited in English/.

For the individual family, the vessel, whether it be a bark canoe or a flat skiff, is no less important than dwelling and food. Although it is made by the man, it is the woman's duty to service it, guard it, and care for it (p. 134). During the trip through the channels she has authority in the canoe, because she alone usually rows or paddles. Also, after landing and before departure it is only her concern. Since, however, the canoe serves all the members of the family without exception and since neither the individual nor the family as a whole can do without it, all separate rights or privileges cease, although the husband built the canoe and the wife owns it.

Hence we must regard the few things that rightfully belong to the self-contained family and each member of this familial unit as actual "family property." As such, this includes only the dwelling, the canoe, and food, and toward these an individual person cannot claim any special rights and privileges. Obviously this legal situation strengthens family ties and increases the feeling of responsibility of one toward the other with whom he is intimately associated in the life of the individual family.

/980 cont./

426 the mission ship. "When I lent him the axe, people on board the 'Allen Gardiner' thought and said, 'You will not see that axe again. As for the wood he promises to cut and carry, and get ready by the time the ship comes again, you may whistle for it'; but I made the experiment, and it answered well. The wood was ready, the axe was returned on our next visit some months after" /cited in English/ (MM:VI, 93;1872).

431 577 Great generosity and unselfishness are conspicuous basic features in the character of the Yamana. The duty toward mutual assistance demands that everyone distribute his booty among others without reservation. Beyond that, some people take particular pleasure in lavishly remembering neighbors with the yields from hunting and gathering (395). We shall not speak here of this habit.

395. Hyades (q):243 gained the impression "that the natives especially enjoy ownership in order to have the right to distribute what they have and for the pleasure of being generous" /translated from French/.

431 Understandably, the giving of presents takes on considerable proportions. The articles involved are primarily foodstuffs which everyone can easily and quickly obtain, ornaments, and, finally, articles for daily use. It is taken for granted, so to speak, that women who occupy the same camp for a few days surprise each other now and then with gifts of meat and fruit. A visitor from [574] far or near always brings something along /981/ which he offers the others, chiefly fresh meat or a beautiful skin. This makes it necessary for the recipient to show his appreciation as soon as possible. This is usually done by giving someone who is departing something special, above all tools and handwork. The man offers finished weapons or parts of weapons and raw materials, the woman primarily ornaments and small baskets. The gift is given and received without any formality, without a word, without meaningful gestures expressing one's feelings,

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431 576 It is one of the inescapable obligations of every Yamana to come now and then with a gift for someone. Anyone who neglected this beyond a certain time would inevitably acquire a bad reputation. It is just as much a matter of course for the recipient to respond to the attention paid him, not immediately, to be sure, but within a certain time, with a gift of equal value. No one would demand this, but one does not forget who owes him a return gift. This gift, no matter who has given it, is critically evaluated. [559] Woe to the one who has behaved shabbily, that is to say, who has given insignificant, useless things in return! He is soon known far and wide as selfish and stingy. Someone who gives a person a valuable or rare present usually puts him in an embarrassing situation, for then some equivalent is expected of him which he usually does not have on hand. Actually, everyone would prefer not to receive special gifts from the start.

431 It is very significant that, according to Koppers (d):194, the Yamana language "scarcely has an actual term meaning 'to ask for gifts,' but all the more terms for 'expecting gifts.'" BD:71 mentions ūšgūtána, "to expect as a man does gifts when visiting his relations who have much blubber" /cited in English/. Still other words express "not to give" and "to give no more." The conduct of a selfish, stingy person is described with the verb tušagána, "to not take, bring, eat, show any food or other things in the sight or presence of friends lest they ask one to give them a part; tušagangámata, to be, act stingily by not letting others see one bring or use supplies of any kind and thus abstain from giving them a share" /cited in English/ (BD:572). The word atágu, "a friendship formed between two persons, accompanied with exchange of gifts" /cited in English/ (BD:33), means to promote a favorable mutual relationship by means of gifts.

431 576 As a rule, the giver does not pay any attention to the needs or wishes of the one to whom he gives gifts; rather, he gives him what he himself can easily do without. This increases the embarrassment of the recipient still more. Nevertheless, he must accept the gift with a certain show of satisfaction and with a certain amount of hypocritical pleasure. To refuse it would be the equivalent of a bad insult and public humiliation (396). Also, it

396. In this connection Bridges (a):209 has

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431 576

already said: "Gifts are most common, and it is considered a great affront to refuse a gift, which is also expected to be returned with something the giver wants" /cited in English/. Cf. Cooper:179.

is not customary among these Fuegians /982/ to wish for a particular present from someone. Such expressions would be rebuffed as bold presumptions. Anything a person needs he can and should obtain through barter. From all this we see that gift-giving, which, as such, is limited, has many unpleasant aspects.

5. Violation of the Right of Ownership

674 Our Fuegians anxiously guard their right to the various belongings which they call their own. Violations are judged very severely and are avenged by giving the person a bad reputation. Not a single reliable observer will deny that now and then there is a case of theft among these Indians. Many exaggerated judgments, however, must be rejected as false and unfounded assertions (397). For example, Admiral B.J. Sulivan gives no justifica-

397. In Outes (g):53 we read the following obvious exaggeration: "The dogs, like their owners themselves, steal a good deal and, if not carefully watched, loot the stores of provisions" /translated from Spanish/.

tion for representing them as among the most thievish of human beings (MM:XV,131; 1881). Hyades (g):39 approaches the real facts of the matter in the following words: In the settlement of the Mision Scientifique in Orange Bay, "Where they were permitted entrance and free movement throughout the day, there were nevertheless not the slightest thefts. In this respect, therefore, the Fuegians are decidedly better than their reputation." Despard, on his journeys through the territory of the Yamana, was occasionally accompanied by Jemmy Button and his family.

/1016 cont./

522 S76 friends discuss in detail, even scornfully and with much amusement, everything they noticed about them or fancifully attribute to them.

• 431 S74 Unlike the habits of the Selk'nam (Vol. I, 470) our Yamana regard it as a duty, so to speak, to give presents to a visitor or guest from distant regions when he leaves. This is altogether in harmony with their unmistakable tendency toward unselfishness and noble generosity. According to Hyades (q):243, their "generous disposition is a characteristic trait of the Fuegians" /translated from French/. I personally had much more opportunity than he did to observe this and to appreciate it. Sometimes, under the influence of great enthusiasm, a person will bountifully give away everything he can possibly do without. One would obviously be unjust to these Indians in supposing that they were generous only so that they would occasionally be praised and repaid with a return gift. Admittedly, they certainly expect it. To that extent Dabbene's (b):200 assertion is correct: "If the Yahgan shows generosity, he does not do it spontaneously, but in the hope that his generosity will be generously repaid" /translated from Spanish/ (435).

435. Earlier Bridges (a):213 had pointed out that "these people like to be thought liberal. They therefore are often very generous, and often give away everything they have, but they know they will soon be well rewarded by gifts in return. When fish, or blubber, or any other food is divided, the divider reserves none for himself, and those who come first are sure to be helped the best" /cited in English/. Compare Hyades (q):243, Outes (g):57.

Without much ado and without saying a word the owner of the hut places the gift into the hands of his guest and gives him a friendly look. The guest's face lights up with sincere pleasure, and he accepts it silently, without carefully examining or evaluating it. A man, of course, gives his friend the tools that he /1017/ uses in his work and in hunting. A favorite present is some object that is abundant in one region but scarce elsewhere. To this

/1017 cont./

431 category belong bone points for the harpoon, made of a whale rib
514 (Fig. 48), lumps of pyrite (p. 41), guanaco leather, and so forth.
A woman, on the other hand, will please her female guest with one of the various ornaments and chooses a form that is not made elsewhere. Whatever a person hands his guest at parting, as a souvenir, as it were, should be particularly valuable, without blemish, and of the finest workmanship! This is the attitude behind the instruction regularly given the uwtala in the kipuge. When the other person reaches home, he will have leisure to examine the gift and evaluate it. He will soon tell his neighbor what he thinks of it. They speak favorably and respectfully of the giver only if generosity and magnanimity are reflected in his gift.

572 Besides the need for the company of others, a highly de-
574 veloped feeling of friendship impels certain individual families and smaller family groups to gather together more frequently. Inasmuch as they understand each other better, usually because of their natural disposition, they appreciate each other more and this awakens the desire to meet often and be together for a longer time. One really finds genuine friendship among the Yamana, which is self-sacrificing and entirely unselfish. The persons linked by such friendship are, like loving brothers and sisters, closely allied for mutual assistance.

574 Families who have little or no contact with one another
576 separate after a brief exchange without a formal farewell. When they do not want to stay longer, they silently and without fuss drag their things to the canoe, load their meager belongings in a few minutes, and, without a greeting, row off in the chosen direction. When relatives and good friends take leave of each other, however, there is a noisy and animated farewell. They discuss their decision beforehand. If one family should remain behind, they help the other in moving. If two or more families have decided to abandon their common campsite at the same time, they have a last, long talk, then they soundlessly gather their things together and do not let another word fall as they depart (438).

438. Bridges (MS4:III, 11:1869) soundly confirms this: "When there is a new arrival, a greater or lesser public

/1023 cont./

harmless game. Naturally, only skillful talkers and quick-witted humorists take up this game. Each member of the two groups for a long time afterward discusses the retorts and opinions given by the friend and by the opponent. Here, too, obscenities or offensive remarks are not permitted.

There is another practice which seems strange. Out of sheer exuberance a man will silently leave his hut, hurry down to the beach, and smash the canoe of his guest. The latter watches the performance dumbfounded, and he says passively, half-jokingly, half-sighing: "What in the world is happening to my canoe there? If it lies shattered, how shall I get back home?" The other replies from the beach: "It shouldn't really matter to you if all your things are smashed!" Meanwhile he returns to the hut where a regular talk contest begins, which this man had intended all along. He finally justifies his action by giving his guest a new canoe which he had purposely made for him. His gift is supposed to become known everywhere as such, and that is why he destroyed the old canoe. It is only in exceptional cases that such a mad prank has dire consequences.

The same exuberant desire to smash and throw everything into disorder sometimes seizes a whole group as, noisily and obtrusively, they assault the visitors from another region. Before these people can offer concerted resistance, their canoes, huts, tools, and utensils have long been chopped to pieces. They declare themselves conquered and withdraw as though defenseless until the opponents cease their raging, or they pull themselves together courageously, fall on the belongings of the others, and hack them to bits likewise. No one knows how this /1024/ mad prank is going to turn out. Usually the opposing parties come to terms and laugh heartily over their destruction. They quickly rebuild what they have lightheartedly destroyed. All effort seems slight compared to the great exuberance involved in their devastation.

Anyone who seeks diversion from monotonous daily work in the company of happy fellow-tribesmen can find it. To this end there are a number of practices which cultivate a community feeling and promote good fellowship.

/1106 cont./

764 bound with cord, is dragged out of the hut by a few men from among the close relatives. They take it to the nearest thicket or into the nearby woods. Here they lay it on a low bushy shrub with spreading branches. Smoldering sticks are pushed into the shrub and dry logs leaned against it. They fan it rapidly with leafy twigs, and in a few minutes the flames leap up. Usually after a short time the burned bush collapses. Then the burning corpse is covered with greater quantities of wood. The men alone do this first part, while the girls and women are obliged to fetch firewood incessantly and to keep the fire burning brightly until all the bones have been destroyed beyond recognition. Coarse sand or earth from the forest floor is dragged to the place with sticks or oars and scattered over the remaining small heap of ashes of the extinguished pyre. Finally the spot is covered with brush and fallen branches. After a few months it no longer is discernible. While this is going on, other people from the neighboring huts stand around the fire, watch the procedure, weep loudly, and sing their tálaywaia. A cremation does not take place on the open beach because the traces of it could not be quickly and completely eradicated. The corpse was laid upon a strong, thick shrub because igniting it is much easier than kindling a fire on the ever-damp forest floor.

766 Even in regions where cremation was preferred over burial, the body of a child was customarily buried in the ground. I was told: One man alone took this corpse and carried it into the forest where he quickly made a shallow hole in the ground and covered the body with earth and brush. This work was easy and not troublesome; the grave only required scratching away a bit of loose forest earth with a stick. Bridges (MM:III, 119;1869) also emphasizes that, in contrast to the burning of adult bodies, "young children are frequently buried" /cited in English/.

764 At all such cremations it was an absolute rule that the mourners left the spot only after the large bones of the corpse /1107/ had crumbled to fine dust in the strong heat and the scene of the fire had been made unrecognizable. They continued their weeping in the huts until far into the night. It is noteworthy, and contrary to the general conception of the Yamana, that every man and woman who helped in any way at the cremation received a gift from the relatives of the deceased. This was by no means something that had belonged to the deceased, as a memento, for

/1107 cont./

764 [431] example; rather, the relatives themselves gave something that must be regarded as recompense for work performed and as a token of the gratitude of the survivors for this service of love. The strong incentive that led our Fuegians to burn the corpse of every adult was the fear that animals, especially rats, otters, dogs, and foxes, would devour it or gnaw at it (46). The thought of the

> 46. There is no basis for the fear that "strangers to the tribe" might "make harpoon points out of the bones," as Krickeberg:322 maintains.

disgusting habits of those animals made them shudder, and they wanted to make sure that the bodies would not be desecrated. Other reasons mentioned by one traveler or another are not valid. Hyades (p):332, for example, writes: "Sometimes [the dead] are burned, especially when death has taken place far from the habitual residence of the family" /translated from French/.

764 114 The following reports must also be clarified. On March 9, 1864, Stirling (VSA:XI,198;1864) landed with his company on Isla Button. He sums up in the following words what he observed there: "Here is the funeral pyre on which the body of one of Macoonallan's brothers was recently burned. Here the wigwam, or framework of branches, where for a day the body lay in state. The body of James Button [who had died shortly before] has not yet been burned: it is merely interred. The return of his brother from Keppel Island has been waited for, and now the remains will be submitted to the flames. This information is given to us in a subdued voice by Ookokko [who took part in this round trip]" /cited in English/. Hyades (c):142 generalizes this assertion (47).

> 47. He says: "The Fuegians do not have a funeral rite; they inter the body near their dwelling at a shallow depth and later burn the bones" /translated from French/.

One might deduce from these words that after a temporary burial the body is taken out of the grave and burned. This surmise is completely erroneous and neither Stirling nor Hyades was reliably

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The greater part of the *shishàus* ceremony was filled with singing and dancing. By means of song they sought both to communicate with and to keep at a distance the *Yetaite*, a great evil spirit, who, the candidates were told, might seriously injure the occupants of the initiation lodge. Dancing served to neutralize the evil of his presence. To frighten him, the walls of the hut were beaten with sticks. Candidates were told to follow directions exactly or the *Yetaite* would seize them. Sometimes the *Yetaite* actually appeared —a man fantastically painted. Finally the candidates were told who it was and were warned that the real *Yetaite* was much worse than what they had seen.

The master of ceremonies usually was the leader in the singing, though sometimes this duty was assigned to another old man. The dances, which usually came late at night, were named for certain animals. Both the melody and the movements suggested characteristic peculiarities of this animal.

The moral instruction of the candidates they divided between the godparents and the official teacher, at whose feet the initiates had to sit from time to time. They were taught to be altruistic in thought and conduct, and to exhibit the virtues of hospitality and generosity. Respect for the aged was inculcated, for all must grow old in time. The boys they taught to be peaceful and not to make enemies, to treat women with respect, to help the young and the blind. The girls they told to rise early in the morning to get their water and wood, to care faithfully for their husbands and children, not to fuss about trifles, nor to repeat gossip. Behind these instructions stood a certain amount of religious sanction, for the evil *Yetaite* threatened them, while the supreme *Watauineiwa* observed their every action. This moral code set a standard for the tribe to which in practice they did not adhere too rigidly.

After some days of instruction the ceremony came to a close. At a given hour the candidates assembled behind a curtain at one end of the hut. One by one they were called forth with the master of ceremonies dancing beside them and were ceremonially surrendered to their godparents and therewith accepted as members of the tribe. The godfather gave his child three gifts: a finely woven *guiekim* basket adorned with feathers, a bird-bone like the one used to drink with, and a scratching-stick.

In the final hours of the last evening the women took charge under the leadership of an old woman. She and the other women